

Message Text

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PAGE 01 MBFR V 00247 211234Z

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /031 W
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P R 211150Z SEP 74
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
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S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0247
E X D I S
FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: MBFR: NATO GUIDANCE TO AD HOC GROUP-
NO INCREASE ON AIR FORCE MANPOWER

1. AS WASHINGTON AGENCIES KNOW, THE AD HOC GROUP HAS REQUESTED NATO GUIDANCE (MBFR VIENNA 0199, PARA 15) BY OCTOBER 15 AUTHORIZING THE GROUP TO TELL THE EAST THAT THE ALLIANCE ENVISAGES SOME FORM OF LIMITATION ON THE AIR FORCE MANPOWER OF BOTH SIDES WITHIN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS. PRESENT TACTICAL PLANNING IN THE AD HOC GROUP CALLS FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST IN THE INFORMAL NEGOTIATING SESSIONS FIRST OF THE ISSUE OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET AND THEN OF THE DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCE MANPOWER. IT IS EXPECTED THAT THERE WILL NOT BE MORE THAN TWO INFORMAL SESSIONS ON THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES FROM THE OUTSET, THE FIRST SESSION PROBABLY TAKING PLACE ON SEPTEMBER 26, AND TWO SESSIONS ON THE DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES. IF THIS SCHEDULE HOLDS, THE ALLIES PROBABLY WILL ADVANCE THE POINTS ON LIMITATIONS OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN THE WEEK OF

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00247 211234Z

OCTOBER 20, SO THAT THEY WILL NEED GUIDANCE BY OCTO-

BER 15 AS REQUESTED BY THE AD HOC GROUP.

2. ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES IN VIENNA BELIEVE THAT THE POSSIBLE EASTERN RESPONSE TO THE DISCUSSION OF GROUND FORCE DEFINITION WILL BE TO CONTINUE TO INSIST ON INCLUSION OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER. THEREFORE, THEY SHOULD BE IN A POSITION TO PRESENT THE ALLIANCE POSITION ON LIMITATIONS OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER WHEN THIS SUBJECT ARISES.

3. THE SUBJECT OF A LIMITATION ON AIR FORCE MANPOWER HAS BEEN TREATED IN AN MBFR WORKING GROUP REPORT AND HAS HAD SOME LIMITED DISCUSSION IN THE SPC. IN THE COURSE OF THE DELEGATION'S CONSULTATIONS IN WASHINGTON, THE DELEGATION PROPOSAL (MBFR VIENNA 0211, 0212) THAT THIS STEP BE TAKEN WAS TENTATIVELY APPROVED AND IT IS HOPED THAT HIGH LEVEL APPROVAL WILL BE FORTHCOMING SOON.

4. THE NEXT STEP WILL BE INSTRUCTIONS BY THE WASHINGTON AGENCIES TO USNATO TO INTRODUCE THE US POSITION ON THIS POINT IN THE SPC. AS PROPOSED TO WASHINGTON, THE DELEGATION SUGGESTS THAT THE US PROPOSAL TO NATO NOT REPEAT NOT TAKE THE FORM OF A NON-CIRCUMVENTION BUT OF A NO-INCREASE PROVISION. OUR REASONS ARE AS FOLLOWS (SEE ALSO PARAS 15-16 OF MBFR VIENNA 0212):

A. WE CONSIDER IT WILL BE IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES IN CONCLUDING A PHASE I MBFR AGREEMENT TO PREVENT EITHER SIDE FROM CIRCUMVENTING THE GROUND FORCE LEVELS WHICH WILL BE REFLECTED IN SUCH AN AGREEMENT THROUGH INCREASING AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS. THE SOVIETS CAN BE RELIED ON TO PRESS FOR THIS EVEN IF IT WERE NOT IN THE ALLIED INTEREST, AS IT IS.

B. IT IS ASSUMED THAT ANY MBFR AGREEMENT WOULD IN ANY EVENT CONTAIN A GENERALLY-WORDED NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISION TO THE EFFECT THAT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD NOT TAKE ACTIONS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF THE AGREEMENT. LARGE-SCALE INCREASES IN AIR FORCE MANPOWER WOULD IMPLICITLY FALL UNDER THE TERMS OF SUCH A PROVISION.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00247 211234Z

C. IF THE ALLIED RESPONSE TO SOVIET PRESSURES FOR INCLUSION OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN REDUCTIONS IS LIMITED TO TELLING THE SOVIETS THAT THIS ISSUE COULD BE TAKEN CARE OF BY A NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISION, THE SOVIETS ARE LIKELY TO RESPOND THAT THIS IS AN OBVIOUS FEATURE OF ANY AGREEMENT. IN OPERATIONAL TERMS, THE TACTICAL OBJECTIVE OF INDICATING WILLINGNESS TO PUT AIR FORCE MANPOWER UNDER LIMITS WILL NOT HAVE BEEN SERVED:

THE ALLIES WILL NOT HAVE OFFERED ANY INDUCEMENT FOR THE SOVIETS TO ACCEPT THE ALLIED PROPOSAL TO FOCUS ON GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS OR POSED ANY SERIOUS TEST OF THE INTENSITY OF SOVIET INTEREST IN REDUCTIONS OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER.

D. TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY CAN BE BROUGHT TO ACCEPT THE ALLIED POSITION ON PHASING, THE SOVIETS AT SOME POINT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE LIKELY TO INSIST THAT THE NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT ALREADY OFFERED BY THE ALLIES ON NON-US NATO GROUND FORCES BE EXTENDED TO COVER AIR FORCES AND IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO FIND PLAUSIBLE ARGUMENTS AGAINST SUCH A STEP. IT WOULD BE AWKWARD TO ARGUE, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT IT WAS IN ORDER TO HAVE A NO-INCREASE PROVISION COVERING THE GROUND FORCES OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE USE AND USSR BUT THAT AIR FORCE MANPOWER OF THESE PARTICIPANTS SHOULD BE DIFFERENTLY TREATED.

5. IF THE FRG ADHERES TO ITS DESIRE TO TRY TO COVER NO INCREASE OF GROUND FORCES IN A DECLARATION SEPARATE FROM THE MAIN BODY OF AN AGREEMENT, PRESUMABLY IT WILL NOT WANT WESTERN EUROPEAN AIR FORCE MANPOWER TO BE TREATED DIFFERENTLY AND TO BE COVERED IN AN AGREEMENT.

6. ACTION REQUESTED: WE RECOMMEND THAT USNATO PROPOSE TO THE ALLIES THAT THE ALLIES IN VIENNA BE AUTHORIZED TO TELL THE SOVIETS THAT THEY ARE WILLING TO APPLY A NON-INCREASE PROVISION TO US AND SOVIET AIR MANPOWER AND TO EXTEND THE ALLIED NON-INCREASE COMMITMENT FOR GROUND FORCES TO COVER ALLIED AIR FORCE MANPOWER AND THAT THIS GUIDANCE BE GIVEN BY OCTOBER 15. RESOR

NOTE BY OC/T: EXDIS ADDED PER S/SO, MR. JOHNSON.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 MBFR V 00247 211234Z

SECRET

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